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ammunition, proposed to ascend the Missouri, on a hunting expedition with a party of Gros Ventres, with whom he was connected by marriage. His wife was the daughter of the chief of this nation. He applied to the chief of our camp, to whom I belong, whose name is Man-di-tongue-go, for liberty for me to accompany him. The chief consented that I should go with him, on condition that I should give him a part of the skins I procured, and lent me an old musket. There were three of the Sioux, one of whom was his relation, who agreed to go with us.

"We started on the 27th of May, crossed Missouri, and arrived the same evening at the upper village. This village is situated on an island, in the Missouri, and is fortified in the same manner as the lower village, containing about sixty huts. Our party consisted of twenty-seven men, six women and four children; none of the Gros Ventres having their familiies with them. The next morning we proceeded, and soon left the Missouri, traveling a northwest course, in a well beaten path. The land on each side of us ascended into high ridges. On the northern side of them, was considerable timber, mostly cedar and the land poor. The path continued up the valley, but often passed over low ridges. On the 29th, we struck a branch of the stream called by the traders, Ball river. We followed this branch to its mouth. Here we crossed Ball river." (Pages 175 to 180 LeRaye's journal.)

Mandan Villages. "We now frequently passed camps of Mandans, and on the 5th of June, arrived at the lower Mandan village. This village, which is above the great bend of the Missouri, is situated on a pleasant interval, covered with cottonwood and cedar. Is built and fortified in the same manner as those of the Rus. Here, a sight new to me, and exceedingly disagreeable, arrested my attention as soon as I came in view of the village. This was their manner of disposing the bodies of the dead. Immediately after my arrival I had an opportunity of witnessing the funeral ceremonies practiced by these people, which was in the following manner: A dead body was brought out of the hut, and laid on the ground before it, dressed in its best apparel, and wrapped in a buffalo robe. The relations and principal part of the people in the village, assembled around it. A fire was then made, and the sacred stem or pipe, was brought and lighted. The deceased having been a warrior, an eulogy of considerable

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•764 length was pronounced by his brother, in which he impressed on their minds, the great importance which the deceased man had been to their nation; rehearsed his war exploits, and concluded by urging all to follow his example, and to become of equal usefulness to their tribe. Then they would be sure of following and becoming companions of him, and all the other great warriors, which had died before, in the world of spirits. After this address was closed, provisions were brought out, consisting of boiled dog's flesh, of which the company just tasted, and then a bowl full of it was presented to the dead man. He was then taken up by four men and carried outside of the village, just into the edge of the woods, and placed on a stage which had been previously erected, about ten feet high. The bowl of food was brought and set by his head, and his arms and accoutrements laid by his side. In this manner their dead are deposited, and are never buried. The wife and relations of the deceased made the most violent and dreadful howlings, tearing their hair and appearing to be in the deepest anguish, under the loss they had sustained."

142 **Complexion, Etc.** "The Mandans and the Gros Ventres are of the lightest complexion, and largest Indians on the Missouri. Their hair inclines to a chestnut color, and in some instances has a slight curl; it is never so lank and course as most other Indians. Their eyes are full and lively, their cheek bones rather high, and their countenances open and agreeable. The Gros Ventres have more of a fierce, savage look, than the Mandans who are courteous 291 and sociable in their behavior. They are neat in their dress, which is similar to that of the Rus, except that they decorate it with white rabbit, and white ermine skins. Many of their lodges, or 353 huts, are decorated in a beatiful manner; having the inside lined with the richest furs, such as the lynx, beaver, otter, white rabbit, martin, fox, mountain cat and white ermine, sewed together like patch-work, which gives them a rich and beautiful appearance. The lodge of the head chief was sixty feet in diameter, elegantly lined with furs, and the seats, which are also used as beds, were covered with the grizzly bear and buffalo skins. These people keep their lodges and buildings in a state of great neatness. They 439 cultivate the same kind of produce with the Rus, and carry on a trade with the roving Indians, who occasionally visit them. The 648 Mandans and Gros Ventres live in great friendship, although

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(Coale & Maxwell, Baltimore, 1816), and he also mentions briefly the tribe in his "Views of Louisiana," (Schaeffer & Maund, Balto., 1817.) He was a lawyer of keen observation, given somewhat to philosophical reflections upon the red man. The party reached the Mandan villages July 26, 1811. We quote as follows from his "Voyage," etc.:

Villages. "Wednesday, 26th, (July, 1811.) Continued our voyage through a beautiful country, on both sides of the river. In the afternoon passed by all five of the Mandan villages, which are situated upon high open plains, the village of She-he-ke, divided from the others by a handsome stream. The inhabitants had gathered to the bank to see us, several waded into the water, but returned when we beckoned to them not to approach. The men were generally naked, the women dressed according to their age or quality, from the course elk skin, to the elegant agalia. It was late at night before we reached the fort of the Missouri Company, which is situated above all the villages, and sixteen hundred and forty miles from the mouth of the Missouri, and in latitude 47 degrees, 13 minutes N."

Brackenridge describes the grim spectacle of the aerial sepulcher of the Mandans:

Burial Scaffolds. "We made several excursions to the villages below, the nearest about six miles off; but as they differ but little from those of the Arikara, I will give no particular description of them. I noticed but one thing as remarkable.

"About two miles on this side of the first village, my attention was attracted by a number of small scaffolds, distributed over several acres of ground on the slope of a hill. I soon discovered that this was a depository of the dead. The scaffolds were raised on forks about ten feet, and were sufficiently wide to contain two bodies; they were in general covered with blue and scarlet cloth, or wrapt in blankets and buffalo robes; we did not approach near enough to examine closely, this frightful Golgotha, or place of human skeletons, but we could see a great number of valuable articles which had been left as offerings to the manes of the deceased. Several crows and magpies were perched upon them; we could not but experience a sensation of horror, when we thought of the attraction which brought these birds to this dismal place. Some of the scaffolds had nearly fallen down, perhaps overturned by the wind, or the effect of decay, and a great num-

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ber of bones were scattered on the ground underneath. This mode of exposing the dead has something peculiarly horrible in it. The wolves of the prairie, the birds of the air, and even the Indian dogs, are attracted to the place, and taught to feed on human flesh.

"This custom prevails amongst all the wandering tribes; but amongst the Arikara, the dead are deposited in a grave as with us, which I think clearly proves their origin to be different from that of their neighbors; for there is nothing, in which men in all ages and countries, have manifested more solicitude, than in the treatment of the remains of their deceased friends."

Le Borgne. Brackenridge's vivid description of the Gros Ventre chief, Le Borgne or the One Eyed, is found below. The two chiefs were present at a celebration had by the whites at the Mandan villages on July 4th. He says:

"The two principal chiefs happened to be with us; the One Eyed, and the Black Shoe. The former is a giant in stature, and if his one eye had been placed in the middle of his forehead, he might have passed for a cyclop. His huge limbs and gigantic frame, his bushy hair shading his coarse visage and savage features, with his one eye flashing fire, constituted him a fearful demon. He sways, with unlimited control, all these villages, and is feared by all the neighboring nations. I remarked that on one or two occasions he treated She-he-ke, with great contempt. Lisa having referred to something said by that chief, 'What,' said this monster, 'What. Does that bag of lies pretend to have any authority here?'. He is sometimes a cruel and abominable tyrant."

Brackenridge then relates how the ruthless old outlaw murdered a young warrior who came to him to reclaim his wife who had been forcibly taken by that chief in her husband's absence, the mother of the slain warrior having lost her mind in grief over the dastardly act.

Brackenridge adds in a note: "She-he-ke is a fat man, extremely talkative, and no great warrior."

In his "Views of Louisiana," Brackenridge thus summarizes as to the tribes at the Mandan villages:

"Mandans, or Gros Ventres—The remnants of a number of villages, according to their account, seventeen. They claim only

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361 Aboriginal Mandan village sites had the following distinctive
174 characteristics.

1. The circular four-post earth lodge was the most common type used for summer residence, although semirectangular lodges did occasionally occur. These lodges were closely grouped within a limited area.

2. A central open space approximately one hundred and fifty feet in diameter was reserved for the dances and ceremonies. A [778] cedar was set into the ground at the center of the open circle and surrounded by an inclosure of wood to represent the culture hero's (NumakmaxEna) body. The inclosure was a symbol of the wall which NumakmaxEna erected to protect the people [344] from the flood. The ceremonial lodge was on the north side of the open area and in line with the other lodges which formed the circumference of the open area. Lodge entrances of this inner circle faced to the center. The ceremonial lodge was distinguished from other lodges by its flat front and greater length than width.

3. Villages were usually either protected by a surrounding wall and ditch or so situated as to employ as defenses such natural features of the terrain as cliffs, ravines, or riverbanks.

4. Villages were, with one or two exceptions, built near the Missouri River or its tributaries and adjacent to the wooded river bottoms which were cleared for gardens.

[764] 5. Although scaffolds for the dead were erected near the villages, isolated human bones, cache burials, and secondary bundle burials occur so frequently within the older villages that we are justified in assuming that these practices were characteristic of the older culture and that scaffold disposal was of late adoption.

6. There was a marked uniformity between villages of the same age with respect to material culture.

7. The clustering of a considerable number of village sites of a single archeological focus and the absence of all other foci within the region adjacent to the Heart River indicate Mandan domination of an extensive area along the Upper Missouri.

174 The Mandan claim to have been divided into bands which, in
619 large part, were broken down while living at the Heart River. These were: (1) Is'topə ("Those Who Tattooed Themselves");

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brother. The Mandan divide a child's kin into two groups and give each a part in the rearing of the child. It was the mother's relatives' duty to provide for the child's physical needs and give instruction in household and tribal lore. While this was being done, the father's sister in the performance of her part in the child's father's ceremonies protected him from misfortune. If the child died or was killed in warfare, it became her duty to see that his spirit returned to the spirit home. She supervised washing and painting the deceased and with the assistance of her brothers removed the body to the scaffold, where she recited the rite which returned the spirit to the "home of the dead."

The father's sister was eligible to receive gifts during ceremonies and to pray for the success of her "son" or "daughter." The father's sister's household was a possible home for her brother's children if their mother died, leaving no female relatives to care for them. There is no "teasing" relation with the father's sister. While a person has many "father's sisters," since all females of the father's clan were called "father's sisters," the closest ones were the actual sisters of the father who were brought up in the father's household. Her position in terminology and behavior was intermediate to the grandmother and mother, since she addressed her brother's children as "sons" and "daughters," while they, in turn, addressed her husband as "grandfather."

Father-in-law–daughter-in-law (*tata'xis–ptawi'hąkE*).—This was a "grandfather–grandchild" relationship. He treated her with all the tenderness shown his own blood grandchildren when other people were present. She respected him as the father of her husband and the owner of important ceremonial rites which would eventually become her husband's. If they were of different clans, her husband might ask her to "walk" with the "grandfather" during one of the buffalo-calling ceremonies. Ceremonial "sexual intercourse" was permitted at that time providing she was not living in her husband's household.

Mother-in-law–daughter-in-law (*maxis'–ptawi'hąkE*).—This was a "grandmother-grandchild" relationship. A household having no daughters paid a daughter-in-law to live in the husband's lodge, and, upon the death of the mother-in-law, she in-

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man who drew his gun when being driven back and was killed by the Black Mouths. Usually it was the duty of one's brothers to revenge a sibling's death, but in this instance siblings took no action. The Black Mouths were believed to be the bravest men of the village. Before making an attack on the enemy, their leaders would stick their lances into the ground which meant that they would not retreat. When on the summer buffalo hunts they received their orders from the leader and were instructed to prevent premature hunting and to see that the party did not break up. Although they endeavored to prevent war parties from leaving the village when there was danger of attack, they inflicted no punishment when an unauthorized war party returned.

It was believed that an individual's influence with sacred things advanced in age. They were consulted on sacred matters and were offered their "sons' " wives frequently during the buffalo ceremonies. Men and women assisted in the disposal of the dead. It was a man's duty to assist a clan sister in the construction of the scaffold for one whose father was of their clan, to superintend the painting and wrapping of the body.

OLD AGE AND DEATH

The old people were respected members of the household. The grandfather would assist the youngsters of the lodge in making toys and in playing their simple games, but he was always held in high regard as the one from whom the child's father had acquired much of his training in sacred matters. Having more time to give to the instruction of the children of the lodge, he would assist them in learning stories if the children were interested in hearing them. The older women assisted the younger women about the lodge and in the gardens but were not expected to do much work.

The older women were organized into two age-grade societies which were sacred in character. Women of advanced middle age joined the Goose Society and, when they had reached the menopause, sold to younger women and bought into the White Buffalo Cow Society.[3] As members of these societies they were respected for their supernatural powers over agriculture and

3. See the chapters on ceremonialism for an account of their origin.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

When a person believed he was about to die, the relatives were called and the dying person was dressed and painted before death, if possible. It was the duty of the father's clan to attend to the disposal of the body, and the dying person's request determined whether the body would be buried or placed on a scaffold. The Mandan claim that in earlier times earth burials were more common, and this belief is corroborated by the large number of both primary and secondary bundle burials found at their older villages near the Heart River. In some instances, they requested hilltop burials with only a covering of robes and stones. Most people were placed on scaffolds which were erected by members of the father's clan, and the "sending-away of the spirit" rites on the fourth day were performed by a woman of the father's clan. The body was placed on the scaffold with the head to the northwest and the feet to the southeast, the direction the spirits were believed to take to reach the Heart River. People never slept with their feet pointed to the southeast, believing that to do so would be to invite death. The relatives would come to the scaffold to mourn for four days. Whenever an eminent person died, all fires in the village were extinguished for one day while all the village mourned. It is said that even the dogs wept.

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The deceased person's personal property was taken by the brothers and sisters, and, when there were none living, the people of the clan took possession of the goods and divided it among themselves. In return for this property, they were required to go to the scaffold to mourn and to pay the mourners of the father's clan. When the deceased was an old woman of a couple occupying a lodge by themselves, the man left the lodge to live with people of his own clan, and the lodge was either abandoned or taken over by a group of females belonging to the deceased person's clan. When an old woman having no children or younger females in the lodge became feeble, she usually moved into another lodge where the females were of her clan.

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When a woman died leaving small children, her unmarried sisters were expected to provide for them and to marry the widower if he asked them. When the deceased mother had no sisters, the children were cared for by the maternal grandmother and her sisters. The clan provided for those who had no close blood relatives. Many families were broken up by the

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for the disposal of the skulls of their dead. The other bones were gathered and wrapped in a hide before being buried in the village refuse or along the river and creek banks.

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The custom of bringing back the skulls of those who died or were killed while away from the village was continued until the Mandan were placed on individual land allotments. When one died while away from the village, the body was wrapped in robes and either placed in a tree, a crevice among the rocks, or a shallow grave covered with rocks. The body was left there for one year, when it became the duty of the father's sister to make provision for its return. If the summer buffalo-hunting camp was in the vicinity of the grave, she would pay some man to obtain the skull, or she secured it herself if the party passed near by. The skull was wrapped in white sage and carried in a soft leather bag. It was considered sacred and was prayed to. Young men who addressed it as father would request permission to fast near it. When the party reached the village, the skull became a part of one of the skull circles.

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After the Mandan were placed on individual allotments on the Fort Berthold Reservation, it was customary to place the dead in boxes and trunks or to wrap them in robes and blankets which were placed in crevices in rocks or on high hills. Those who were closely affiliated with one of the churches were prevailed upon to have their dead buried in the church cemetery. Some bodies were unburied as late as 1928. For a number of years after moving onto individual allotments, a skull circle was maintained on a hill a short distance east of the Tom Smith farm, but in later years the skulls were not removed.

[p. 102 is blank]

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

People receiving goods were:

Women	Men
Big Chief Woman	Wolf Ghost
Spring Woman	Crows Breast
Lone Woman	Big Foot Bull
Hides and Eats	Afraid To Be Chief
Stays Yellow	Red Buffalo Cow
Unborn Calf Woman	Bull against Wind
Penned Up	Red Shield
Goes Out	Small Ankles
Owl Woman	Awaxniax (?)
Beaver Woman	Belly Up
Different Corn Silk	Broken Ax
Feather on Head Woman	
Otter Woman	
Eagle Woman	
Cedar Woman	

After the gifts were all presented, the people went home. Clam Necklace and his two wives went outside the village near the scaffolds for the dead and put up three new images, one of the Sun, one of the Moon, and another of the Old Woman Above.

The image of the Sun consisted of a round red disk painted on white calico or hide. Chokecherry brush was lashed to the top of the pole. The Old Woman Above image was made of a robe, hair side out, wrapped around an ash pole, with a piece of black hide for the face and white sage for the hair. It was tied to the pole with a belt which held the image in place. Moon's image was a red crescent painted on a white calico or hide lashed to an ash post [see above, Fig. 41]. The images were set up before sunrise.

Bundles having Old Woman Above's daughter represented added a fourth image. Instead of placing the images in a row with mounds in front of Sun's and Moon's images, the four images were placed at four corners of a square with the mounds in the center. White sage was set into the ground at the apex of the mound representing the Sun and black sage on the other mound representing the Moon. When two buffalo skulls were placed at the shrine, one was a bull's and the other a cow's skull. When four skulls were used, they were bull's skulls and represented buffaloes of the four seasons. These shrines became fasting places to which were brought skulls of relatives taken from the scaffolds. Enemies whose skulls lay on the prairies were brought to these shrines by those fasting there. Children's skulls were not placed in these circles.

The presence of enemy skulls in these circles was not unusual. Men fasting on the hills often collected the skulls of their enemies or went to the spot where the body lay to seek visions.

Maximilian referred to these shrines when he wrote:

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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In the center of the village was a large open space of about four acres[1] and in the center of this was the "Ark of the First Man." This was in the shape of a hogshead, of planks and hoops.[2] It was open above, the planks were embedded in the ground, and the hoops were branches tied around to hold these together. The Mandans called this the Big Canoe[3] and in it were some of their greatest medicines. This open space was the seat of all their festivals, dances and ceremonies, and here also they played their games of Chungkee or Skohpe. The space was closely surrounded by houses placed at equal distances apart and all facing the center. The largest of these lodges on the south side of the area was the medicine lodge, and on a pole above this was a figure of skin, with a carved wooden head, which represented the Evil Spirit.

About one quarter of a mile or less to the south of the village was a race-course; a hundred or more scaffolds on which the dead were deposited; slides for their games were also made outside the palisades. The ground about the houses was honeycombed with pits and caches in which most of the food and many of the valuables of the inhabitants were stored. The house roofs formed a general repository where bull boats, buffalo skulls, pottery, sledges and people were scattered promiscuously over the rounded surface, around the edge of which Bradbury says they built a sort of low railing.

HOUSES:—The houses themselves were many times described, sometimes with considerable variation, and it is highly probable that there was more or less variation of construction in the minor details. They were distinguished from those of the Arikara in that the ground was first excavated, and that they were rather hemispherical, whereas the houses of the latter were more conical, like those of the Pawnee. Catlin[4] places the average size of the houses at from forty to sixty feet in diameter, depending on the size and importance of the family, and Henry[5] tells us that the one in which he himself stayed was ninety feet in diameter.

[1] Henry: vol. I, p. 338. "Sixty feet across," Maximilian: p. 386; "One hundred and fifty feet," Catlin: vol. I, p. 88.
[2] Catlin gives this as eight to ten feet high, Maximilian as four or five.
[3] Catlin: vol. I, p. 88.
[4] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 81.
[5] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 336.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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became the property of the dancers. Another corn dance was held in the fall, but Maximilian tells us that the purpose of this one was to bring the buffalo. In this dance each woman carried a whole stalk of corn—the corn was called by the name of the water bird which represented it, and a prayer was made to the Old Woman Who Never Dies through these birds. The birds going south were supposed to carry these prayers to their mistress, and in this dance each old woman made a sacrifice of some valuable article. The elements of the corn dance agree in most particulars with those of the Pawnee and southern plains tribes.

BURIAL:—In their burial customs the Mandans show close analogy with the Sioux. Their cemeteries were usually only two hundred to three hundred paces from the palisade and consisted of a number of scaffolds on which the dead were placed. These scaffolds were made on four posts about twelve feet high, the length of the rectangle being about six feet. Across the posts willow rods, just strong enough to support the body, were placed.[1] When a person died he was left in the village but a very short time; the face was painted red, the body was oiled, dressed in the finest clothes and wrapped in a green buffalo skin or at a later period in a piece of cloth. The whole was then tightly wrapped with thongs of rawhide from head to foot. Then other robes were soaked in water and tightly wrapped and tied around the body. After this the corpse was immediately carried out and placed on the scaffold together with a bow and quiver, shield, pipe and tobacco, knife, flint and steel and provisions for several days. In case of a child, it was wrapped up in a small bundle which was tied to the scaffold by a cloth or hide. Catlin says the bodies were placed with their feet to the rising sun. Maximilian says the face was turned to the east.[2] Lewis and Clarke[3] give an account of a different sort of burial which must have been of rare occurrence for we find no mention of anything of the sort elsewhere. It is as follows: "An old man . . . . . one hundred and twenty winters old, he requested his grand Children to Dress him after Death, & Set him on a Stone on a hill, with his

[1] Catlin; vol. 1, p. 89. [2] Op. cit., p. 479. [3] Feb. 20, 1805.

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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764 face towards his old Village Down the river, that he might go Streight to his brother at their old village under ground.'' When a warrior was killed in battle he was never buried. If the body could not be carried back to the village, it was left as it lay.[1] In such a case the family would roll up a buffalo skin and carry it out, placing it on the scaffold where it was treated just as if it held the body of the dead man.

Catlin says that when the rods supporting the body broke and the body fell, the family interred all of the bones except the skull. Such skulls were placed eight or nine feet apart, in circles; one hundred or more in a circle; in the center of each circle was a small mound about three feet high. On this mound were two buffalo skulls, a male and a female, and in the center was a medicine pole twenty feet high supporting many medicine articles. Each skull was on a bunch of wild sage.

764 304 The Mandan period of mourning was one year, during which they dressed poorly and kept the hair cut short. Immediately upon the death, the relatives cut their hair, rubbed their bodies with white and gray clay, and gashed their arms and legs with a knife or a stone so that they were covered with blood. In the first few days groans and weeping were continuous. According to Maximilian there was a very solemn ceremony concluding the burial, which he called covering the body. This act might be done either by a relative or an outsider. The person who intended to cover the body came with one or two cloth coverings, red, blue, white or green. He mounted the scaffold as soon as the body was placed upon it and covered the remains with his covering. He then received a present of a horse from the immediate relatives. When it was learned that someone intended to cover the dead, a horse was at once tied to the scaffold and as soon as the body had been covered the horse was untied and led away by the man who had performed that office.[2] Gifts of value were hung all about the scaffold and these gifts were presented to those who had assisted in preparing and placing the body upon it.

[1] Maximilian: p. 472.

[2] Ibid., p. 461.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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The Mandan method of burial was used likewise by their neighbors the Hidatsa and in a modified form by the Dakota and nearly all the Siouan tribes. The Arikara, however, used the opposite form, that of interment. With them the dead were buried in a flexed position in graves (lined with stone) and the scaffold system was never used.

764 171

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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The last work was done on one of the low mounds beyond the outside ditch (Map IV, *l*). The height of this one was not over one foot at the center and its diameter was about thirty feet. A trench was run across the mound from south to north cutting it at the center. The earth of which the mound was constructed was soft and full of bone fragments below the sod. For the first ten feet of the trench this soft earth went down to a depth of from eight inches to one foot where the line of old sod was reached. Fifteen feet from the south end of the trench there was a pile of human bones indicating a burial according to the Mandan method. This was only about ten or twelve inches below the surface of the mound. The bones were in a compact bundle, several of them had ends broken off, and some of the small ones, as well as the skull, were missing. Under one corner of this skeleton was part of a child's skeleton, in very poor condition, the skull being in pie[illegible] and many of the bones missing. Over the two skeletons [illegible] was a thin layer of brown material resembling decay[illegible]od. In the earth about these human remains was a considerable amount of animal bones, and immediately below was a very large pit.

This pit was not of the usual shape. At its edge twelve feet from the beginning of the trench it was eight feet deep; under the skeleton the depth decreased to five feet three inches, and at the eighteen foot line it was four feet six inches deep. The trench was not excavated beyond this point, but from the angle of the slope the pit would seem to have been from fourteen to eighteen feet in diameter. The earth in the pit contained a large quantity of refuse, bones and bone implements and ashes. There was a distinct ash layer at about two feet below the surface. A large quantity of pottery fragments occurred in the pit and a number of large and very well-made pieces were found.

Two other low mounds (*m* and *n*) were investigated but nothing of any value was found in them.

Time prevented any further work on the site and much was left which should have been done. However, a fairly accurate idea was obtained of the whole site. Two of the larger mounds were excavated sufficiently to show their con-

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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The bison bones predominated in the finds, parts of almost every portion of the skeleton being found. One whole skull was uncovered, besides a number of horns and a considerable quantity of teeth. Portions of the vertebral column were also taken out, including the long vertebrae of the hump; ribs, hoofs, and leg bones, the latter much broken, were present, as well as a number of the large scapulae which were used in making the hoes. 172 X

Of the deer not many bones were identified. There were, however, a number of antler tips, as well as teeth and broken portions of the jaw.

Two antelope skulls were found, one that of an adult, and the other that of a very young animal with horns just sprouting. Antelope teeth were also found as well as some portions of the smaller leg bones, a piece of the sternum, and one or two scapulae.

A number of the large front teeth of the elk or wapiti were found, but none of the valuable "tushes." Part of an elk horn as well as several tips came to light in the excavation.

Wolf remains occurred frequently, four whole skulls being found, as well as a number of leg and foot bones, and several of the last phalanges to which the claws were attached. Three of these skulls were broken in on one side, as if the animal had been knocked on the head with a club. Two cayote skulls were also found, as well as some of the leg bones. From one of these skulls the nose had been smoothly cut off.

Among the smaller animals, the teeth and jaws of a raccoon, gopher jaws, and several skulls of mice were found.

A large number of bird bones were not identified but some of the wing bones of a species of owl as well as the leg bones from a bald headed eagle were found. The bill of some sort of crane also came to light.

The fish bones were so fragmentary that the species were not accurately identified, but it is probable that most of them were from cat-fish.

BURIAL AND HUMAN REMAINS:—The human remains discovered during the excavation were few and unsatisfactory. Only one skull was found and but two adult skeletons were 172 X 764 ●

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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secured, one in poor condition. Parts of a child's skeleton were found and broken bits of skulls occurred occasionally in mounds or pits. The two skeletons, besides being apparently of two different types, exemplified two very different methods of burial.

The first skeleton, which was complete, was found under the largest mound at the bottom of a small circular pit. The skeleton was in a flexed position, hands about the neck, and knees drawn up nearly to the chin. It lay on the right side and faced towards the southwest. No ornaments of any sort were found about the remains, but a bone hoe lay above and another just below them; a brown layer, below, possibly marked the remains of some sort of wrapping. This burial shows nothing whatever in common with that of the Mandans so far as accounts go; and it resembles that of the Arikara only in that it was placed underground, since the Arikara lined the grave with stone and buried many things of value with the dead, often placing more than one body in a grave which was partitioned into compartments.

The second burial differed in every detail from the first, but seemed to correspond to the Mandan custom. The bones had been collected into a bundle and buried without ceremony, and a child's remains in an irregular mass were found associated with the larger bundle of bones. The skull of the adult was missing. According to Catlin after the dead body had dried on the scaffold it was taken down, the head was kept in one of the shrines and the bones were buried in a bundle. The body of a child was tied to the scaffold of an adult, and it is probable that the bones were buried along with those of the older person. Hence this burial may be confidently identified as Mandan. A number of broken fragments of children's skulls were found among the other refuse of the mounds and pits, but none of the other bones of the skeleton were ever present, which corroborates Catlin's story of the separation of the skulls from the remainder of the body.

As has been said, the two skeletons found seemed to be of different types. The first one was that of a man about fifty years of age, whose height was 1594 cm. The skeleton was

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

757 When blindness arises from the dazzling brightness of the snow, which it very frequently does in March, they bathe the eyes with a solution of gunpowder in water. They often have recourse to bleeding, which they perform with a sharp flint, or a knife. They often apply to the Whites for medicine, and willingly follow their prescriptions. These Indians have also various remedies for their horses; thus, when a horse has the strangury, they give it a piece of a wasp's nest.

764 When a Mandan or Manitari dies, they do not let the corpse remain long in the village; but convey it to the distance of 200 paces, and lay it on a narrow stage, about six feet long, resting on four stakes about ten feet high, the body being first laced up in buffalo robes and a blanket. The face, painted red, is turned towards the east. A number of such stages are seen about their villages, and, although they themselves say that this custom is injurious to the health of the villages, they do not renounce it. On many of these stages there are small boxes, containing the bodies of children wrapped in cloth or skins. Ravens are usually seen sitting on these stages, and the Indians dislike that bird, because it feeds on the flesh of their relations. If you ask a Mandan why they do not deposit their dead in the ground, he answers—"The lord of life has, indeed, told us that we came from the ground, and should return to it again;" yet we have lately begun to lay the bodies of the dead on stages, because we love them, and would weep at the sight of them. They believe that every person has several spirits dwelling in him; one of these spirits is black, another brown, and another light-coloured, the latter of which alone returns to the lord of life. They think that after death they go to the south, to several villages which are often visited by the gods; that the brave and most eminent go to the village of the good, but the wicked into a different one: that they there live in the same manner as they do here, carry on the same occupations, eat the same food, have wives, and enjoy the pleasures of the chase and war. Those who are kind-hearted are supposed to make many presents and do good, find everything in abundance, and their existence there is dependant on their course of life while in the world. Some of the inhabitants of the Mandan villages are said not to believe all these particulars, and suppose that after death they will live in the sun or in a certain star.

774 775

765 [304] They mourn for the dead a whole year; cut off their hair, cover their body and head with white or grey clay, and often, with a knife or sharp flint, make incisions in their arms and legs in parallel lines, in their whole length, so that they are covered with blood. For some days after death the relations make a loud lament and bewailing. Often a relative, or some other friend, covers the dead, as they express it: he brings one or two woollen cloths, of a red, blue, white, or green colour, and, as soon as the body is laid on the stage, mounts upon the scaffolding, and conceals the body beneath the covering. A friend who will do this is, in token of respect, presented, by the family of the deceased, with a horse. If it is known beforehand that a person intends doing this honour to the dead, a horse is at once tied near the stage, and the friend, having per-

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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cloth, or other costly stuff, offered up to the Great Spirit, over the door of some benignant chief, in humble gratitude for the blessings which he is enjoying. Such is a part of the strange medley that is before and around me; and amidst them and the blue streams of smoke that are rising from the tops of these hundred "coal-pits," can be seen in distance, the green and boundless, treeless, bushless prairie; and on it, and contiguous to the piquet which encloses the village, a hundred scaffolds, on which their "dead live," as they term it.

These people never bury the dead, but place the bodies on slight scaffolds just above the reach of human hands, and out of the way of wolves and dogs; and they are there left to moulder and decay. This cemetery, or place of deposite for the dead, is just back of the village, on a level prairie (PLATE 48); and with all its appearances, history, forms, ceremonies, &c. is one of the strangest and most interesting objects to be described in the vicinity of this peculiar race.

Whenever a person dies in the Mandan village, and the customary honours and condolence are paid to his remains, and the body dressed in its best attire, painted, oiled, feasted, and supplied with bow and quiver, shield, pipe and tobacco—knife, flint and steel, and provisions enough to last him a few days on the journey which he is to perform; a fresh buffalo's skin, just taken from the animal's back, is wrapped around the body, and tightly bound and wound with thongs of raw hide from head to foot. Then other robes are soaked in water, till they are quite soft and elastic, which are also bandaged around the body in the same manner, and tied fast with thongs, which are wound with great care and exactness, so as to exclude the action of the air from all parts of the body.

There is then a separate scaffold erected for it, constructed of four upright posts, a little higher than human hands can reach; and on the tops of these are small poles passing around from one post to the others; across which a number of willow-rods just strong enough to support the body, which is laid upon them on its back, with its feet carefully presented towards the rising sun.

There are a great number of these bodies resting exactly in a similar way; excepting in some instances where a chief, or medicine-man, may be seen with a few yards of scarlet or blue cloth spread over his remains, as a mark of public respect and esteem. Some hundreds of these bodies may be seen reposing in this manner in this curious place, which the Indians call, "the village of the dead;" and the traveller, who visits this country to study and learn, will not only be struck with the novel appearance of the scene; but if he will give attention to the respect and devotions that are paid to this sacred place, he will draw many a moral deduction that will last him through life: he will learn, at least, that filial, conjugal, and paternal affection are not necessarily the results of civilization; but that the Great Spirit has given them to man in his native state; and that the